DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 288 808 SO 018 649

AUTHOR Gill, Wanda E.
TITLE Gender Bias in the Courts.
PUB DATE [87]
NOTE 20p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Battered Women; *Court Judges; *Courts; Displaced Homemakers; Divorce; Employed Women; Law Related Education; *Lawyers; Rape; *Sex Bias; *Sex Discrimination; Victims of Crime

ABSTRACT

The term gender bias was coined by the National Judicial Education Program to Promote Equality for Women and Men in the Courts and is defined as the predisposition or tendency to think about and behave toward people primarily on the basis of their sex rather than their status, professional accomplishments, or aspirations. An effective method for documenting the extent and nature of gender bias is the task force approach. Data collection methods used in task force studies included: (1) interviews with judges; (2) analysis of statistical materials from the administrative office of the courts and other state and federal agencies; (3) review of cases on substantive law in the areas of damages, domestic violence, juvenile justice, matrimonial law, and sentencing; (4) surveys on gender bias at state bar association regional meetings; and (5) surveys distributed to attorneys throughout the United States. Several states that carried out task force studies of gender bias have reported similar findings. Women receive unequal treatment in the areas of divorce, domestic violence, personal injury litigation, rape, and juvenile justice. Women attorneys, judges, and employees of the courts receive demeaning and unequal treatment from other attorneys and judges. All the task force studies made recommendations to sensitize court officers about the problem of gender bias and to ameliorate the effects of such bias. (SM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED288808

RECEIVED
OCT 5 1987
Acq'd.....

Gender Bias In The Courts

by

Dr. Wanda E. Gill

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Wanda E. Gill
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SO018049

Foreword

The PGCWPC wishes to thank Susan Keilitz, Staff Attorney of the National Center for State Courts, Carolyn P. Lazar, Publications Director of the State Bar of Wisconsin, Holly L. Peirce, Administrative Assistant to Chief Justice Riley of the Michigan Supreme Court, Judge Kathryn A. McDonald of the New York City Family Court and Judge Marilyn Loftus of the Superior Court of New Jersey for promptly forwarding state task force reports and background literature on gender bias in the courts of their respective states. Thanks, too, to my friend, Dr. Lyndia Griffith of the UCLA Center for the Study of Women for calling me with the names of the states with studies completed or in progress. The background was invaluable in identifying the relevant variables, as perceived by women litigants, court employees, lawyers and judges in other areas of the country.

A special note of thanks is extended to those Prince George's County residents who were interviewed by me, Ms. Claire Bigelow, Vice-President for Membership, Ms. Cornelia Brooks and Ms. Carol Lawson, Co-Chairs of our Research Committee. The candor they exhibited in sharing old hurts and indignities suffered as a part of different court proceedings is greatly appreciated.

Gender bias is sexism. The term gender bias was coined by the National Judicial Education Program to Promote Equality for Women and Men in the Courts. It is defined as "the predisposition or tendency to think about and behave toward people primarily on the basis of their sex rather than their status, professional accomplishments or aspirations. It is reflected in attitudes and behavior based on stereotypical assumptions or beliefs about the "true nature" and "proper role" of the sexes."[1]

Norma J. Wikler, Founding Director of the National Judicial Education Program to Promote Equality for Women and Men in the Courts, in a paper presented at the Joint Conference of Chief Justices and State Court Administrators in Omaha, Nebraska on August 5, 1986, [2] indicated that gender expectations are not just different, they are unequal. In a 1986 University of Colarado Study, when school children were asked "If you woke up tomorrow and discovered that you were a girl (boy), how would your life be different?" Boys said their lives would be disasters. They'd be valued only for their appearance and would have to worry about it constantly. They'd have to drop math courses, give up sports and doing things with their fathers and be confined to jobs as secretaries or nurses. They'd have to worry about being raped. Girls said they could run for president, get paid more and wouldn't have to babysit.

In another study, college students were given a set of articles to evaluate on architecture, nutrition and policies by John McKay. Another group of students was given the same set of articles and was told they were written by Joan McKay. Students evaluated articles on their value, profundity, writing style, professional competence and persuasiveness. The students overwhelmingly preferred John McKay's work. Men are perceived as more credible, competent, intelligent, truthful and worthy of being

taken seriously just because they are men. These are the expectations and attitudes that come to the courtroom.

Ms. Wikler indicates the hostility and denial of judges she met when she co-taught with Judge Tim Murphy a two hour seminar on gender bias at the National Judicial College in Reno, Nevada. Some few individual judges indicated that gender bias is a problem for some women but few would say of the judiciary. In six short years, Ms. Wikler could see nationwide changes. Yet, in 1986, she was advocating more studies, more judicial training and other concrete initiatives.

Alberta I. Cook [3] indicates that some lawyers and judges are resisting studies of gender bias. She says this group is reluctant to admit that gender bias exists. This confirms Norma J. Wikler's reports of her 1980 teaching experience at the National Judicial College. In some states, women's efforts to study gender bias have been turned down. Independent studies have been conducted in Arizona and Florida as a result of two states that have refused to sponsor task force investigations. These independent studies will form the basis for later requests for statewide studies.

Nancy Blodgett, in "I Don't Think That Ladies Should Be Lawyers", [4] speaks to the bias against female attorneys. Women attorneys are presumed to be incompetent until proven competent. So says Louise La Mothe, a litigation partner in the Los Angeles firm of Irell and Manella. This perception is confirmed by DePaul University College of Law Professor Leonard Cavise who is cited as a sympathetic male attorney who has witnessed sexist habits of colleagues. Chicago's Circuit Court Judge Arthur Cieslik is quoted as stating "I Don't Think That Ladies Should Be Lawyers."

New York City medical malpractice lawyer Judith Livingston is cited as being concerned with "masculine" or "feminine" demeanor, depending on what serves her best in the courtroom. This produces a form of schizophrenic behavior in female attorneys who must constantly change.

Biases are pervasive. Women attorneys' credibility is undermined when judges and other attorneys make statements about their appearance. Male lawyers don't get these comments. The comments are condescending.

Blodgett indicates that there are still hard core pockets of resistance but the expanding presence of women lawyers and judges are bringing the issue to the forefront.

It is with this background that several states have undertaken studies of gender bias in the courts. New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Michigan and Wisconsin have conducted studies. California has done some preliminary work. The Prince George's County Women's Political Caucus President secured these studies. The findings which were of particular interest are summarized in this testimony. An attempt was made to focus on common and different findings.

We applaud the State of Maryland for the task force approach.

Lynn Hecht Schafran[5] indicates that the task force approach is an effective method for documenting the extent and nature of gender bias. She cites several data collection methods that were used in the New York and New Jersey Task Force Reports that may be helpful to Maryland's task force. These methods included:

1. Interviews with judges.

2. Analysis of statistical materials from the Administrative Office of the Courts and other state and federal agencies.

3. Review of case law by a Task Force subcommittee on substantive law in the areas of:

    a. Damages;
    b. Domestic violence;
    c. Juvenile justice;
    d. Matrimonial Law;
    e. Sentencing.

4. Surveys on gender bias at state bar regional meetings.

5. Surveys distributed to attorneys throughout the state.

These methods represent a blueprint for other states. The findings of the states that have employed some or all of these methods follow.

In the 2nd Report of the New Jersey Supreme Court Task Force on Women In the Courts, [6] a report documenting the progrss of several recommendations made in the original Task Force Report, much progress was reported in the areas of education and sensitivity and yet; some specific recommendations were made for areas that needed improvement. Specifically, starting in 1984, the New Jersey Judicial College included new educational programs with the following titles:

- "Women and the Law: Changing Roles, Changing Attitudes";
- "Value of a Homemaker's contribution in Matrimonial and Personal Injury Cases"; and
- "Domestic Violence"

During these programs, Task Force members gave speeches on:

- "How to Ensure Gender Equality in the Court and Judicial Environment";
- "How to Utilize the Task Force Findings in Judicial Fact Finding and Decision Making Roles "; and,
- "How to Conduct a Judicial Clerkship Interview.

At the same time, an educational film was developed, "Women and the Law: Changing Roles, Changing Attitudes".

Some of the areas that still need to be addressed were highlighted in the specific recommendations. The recommendations include the following:

1. Court rulings be revised to incorporate gender neutral language.
2. Documents, forms, notices and corespondance prepared by or used by the courts and clerks' offices should be revised using gender neutral language.
3. Model jury charges should be revised using gender neutral language.
4. Messages regarding appropriate conduct of attorneys in relation to court personnel should be prepared.
5. Videotapes of women in the courts should be shown to all court staff and to every bar association in the state.

This report also noted the findings of a 1983 national survey of adult plaintiffs that concluded that younger women (ages 18 through 39) fared far better in recovery and verdict award size than women litigants in the 40 - 60 age group and that the likelihood of successful litigation for a female plaintiff appeared to decrease dramatically as her age increased whereas the converse was true for men. Underlying this is the idea that women lose value as they get older.

In damages, personal injury awards tend to be wage intensive. A person whose work is uncompensated (a woman) is often relegated to a modest award.

In the area of domestic violence, domestic violence is not viewed as a crime. Judges, without comment, allow the abuser to testify as to what his partner did to earn her beating (this prejudice holds that the wife is property). The same prejudice permeates rape cases. Judges fail to enforce and appropriately punish in domestic violence cases. Women get inadequate support orders and are thrown in contact with abusers through child visitation arrangements. In our interviews with female attorneys from Maryland, all of them indicated that these were, indeed, problems for women in Maryland.

In the area of juvenile justice and sentencing, juveniles are treated differently, depending on their sex. Young women get heavier sentences when they're involved in "male type" crimes.

In the matrimonial area, divorce brings poverty to women and children. Wage discrimination, job segregation and inadequate job opportunities for displaced homemakers, inadequate awards of alimony and child support and widespread default in the payment of ordered alimony and child support are major problems confronting divorced women. Our small sample of interviews of women litigants in Maryland support New Jersey's findings.

Judges lack accurate information about the kinds of jobs available to women and the actual costs of feeding and caring for children. There is an unofficial standard in New Jersey that the wife receives no more than 35-40% of net marital assets and equitable distribution and a support award of no more than 30% of the husband's net pay, even with small children in the wife's custody.

On hiring, promotion and compensation in the judicial system, the Task Force indicates that veterns' preference limits women's hiring and promotion in court positions.

In the Report of the New York Task Force on Women in Courts,[7] the "Status of Women Litigants"; the "Status of Women Attorneys" and the "Status of Women Court Employees" were of particular interest. With respect to women litigants, changes in the courts' response to violence against women. In the area of domestic violence, it was recommended that:

- justices and attorneys acquire a better understanding of domestic violence;
- that domestic violence victims receive better access to the court system and legal counsel more readily;

- that victims' failure to press complaints initially and the cycle of dropping complaints be more fully understood as a psychological process;
- that orders of protection be issued;
- that custody and visitation be geared towards removing the batterer from the home;
- that enforcement, mediation and self defense be emphasized.

In the area of rape, recommendations include the following:

- equal protection of rape victims;
- protection of the rape victim's credibility;
- the development of legal protections for rape victims;
- the development of specialized prosecutorial divisions;
- victim - counselor confidentiality.

In the area of the Court's enforcement of Women's economic rights, it was recommended that division of marital property consider the woman's ability to litigate and property divisions be implemented that adequately reflect costs.

In the area of the courtroom environment, the New York Task Force found that race, gender and economic status affect the credibility of litigants. Minority female litigants who are poor are perceived as less credible than white middle class women litigants and white middle class women litigants are perceived as less credible than white male litigants. These litigants are faced with inappropriate and demeaning conduct by court officers at all levels.

The status of women attorneys includes improper forms of address and sexist remarks by judges and other attorneys . These remarks affect the credibility of female attorneys in the courtroom. Recommendations to rectify this include educational programs, fee generating appointments and the appointment of more women judges.

The section on the status of women court employees includes the fact that there is occupational segregation by gender. Women court employees are subjected to sexual harrassment and the assumption that personal errands

and chores are a part of "women's work".

Suggested recommendations to institute judicial reform include:

- monitoring and evaluating programs;
- appointing a special assistant and advisory committee;
- judicial education;
- examination of rules governing judges' and attorneys' professional conduct; and,
- bar association involvement.

In the New York "Report of the Committee to Implement Recommendations of the New York Task Force on Women In the Courts" dated April 1987, [8] it was indicated that a major education and training program on gender bias was included for new judges and all other judges at their annual seminar courses were designed to promote self examination and to raise the consciousness of judges about their perceptions of women and how they affect domestic violence, child support and custody issues and the treatment of rape and wife abuse victims in the courtroom.

Special training was undertaken for family court hearing examiners on the economic consequences of divorce, enforcement of child support orders and the psychological impact of divorce on children. Special training was underway for Family Court Law Assistants on the battered woman syndrome, services available to victims and abusers and non-coercive methods of conducting case conferences.

The report indicates that the hiring of women at all levels of the Court system has improved. The percentage of female court officers and senior court clerks has more that doubled since 1980. As of March 1987, 30% of Court Officers and 31% of Senior court clerks were female. An analysis of 1986-87 appointments and promotions to higher positions in competitive and non-competitive jobs shows that of 649 appointments, 322 or 49.6% were women.

8

Rhode Island was the third state to study gender bias. For three months in 1985,[9] three trained observers watched how women were treated in the courtrooms. This was the first empirical study of gender bias. It was designed and conducted by Sally E. Findlery, a Brown University educated sociologist who was hired by Supreme Court Chief Justice Joseph A. Bevilacqua. Her findings indicate that derogatory terms were applied to women.

- During 44 observation periods spanning 58.4 hours, 9.6 gender bias events were observed. There were an average of 1.64 gender bias events per hour of court.
- Men are twice as likely as women to display gender bias in their behavior.
- The most common form of gender bias involves forms of addresses like "girls" or "honey". The next most common are extraneous remarks about a woman's behavior or appearance.
- The larger the proportion of men present in the courtroom, the greater the probability of gender bias.
- Lawyers are more likely than judges to display some form of gender bias in their behavior.

The second part of the study shows gender bias in case decisions and sentencing. The findings indicate:

- In the Family Court, female juveniles charged with being wayward or delinquent are more likely to be cleared than males.
- Regardless of gender, juveniles charged with being deliquent are more likely to be cleared or receive shorter sentences if... accompanied only by the mother.
- In abuse and neglect cases, mothers alone or with a husband are half as likely as fathers alone to win their cases but if they are represented by a female lawyer, this advantage disappears.
- Women charged with felony crimes are more likely to be acquitted than men charged with felonies, but women charged with misdemeanors are more likely to be convicted than men so charged.
- A defendant's sex does not affect the length of the sentence, but those represented by female lawyers received longer sentences than those represented by male lawyers.
- Male plaintiffs and couples in civil suits are more likely to win their cases than are female plaintiffs who sue alone.
- Male plaintiffs are twice as likely as female plaintiffs to win contract damages cases and much more likely to win personal injury cases other than those that involve motor vehicle accidents.

9

- There is evidence of gender bias in appointing lawyers to represent indigent people, but the bias is not uniform in all state courts. Female lawyers receive court appointments in the Family Court in about the same ratio as their representation in the Rhode Island bar. However, in the District, Superior and Supreme Courts, female lawyers receive court appointments at a rate far below their membership in the bar as a whole and "appear to be greatly underrepresented".
- Surprisingly, in civil cases there is no relation between sex of the plaintiff or defendent and the dollars awarded for damage the sex of the lawyers involved does not affect the size of the award".

We believe that some of these particular findings are peculiar to the Rhode Island Courts, notably the findings in civil cases. We recommend that these same variables be examined in Maryland courts.

In the Michigan report,[10] of particular interest are the recommendations related to divorce and the credibility of litigants based on gender and race. It was recommended that economic status not play too great a role in determining custody, particularly when the relative economic standing of the divorcing parties is the result of decisions made mutually during the marriage. It was also recommended that the Michigan Supreme Court convey equal treatment under the law and determine the nature and extent of disparate treatment (like the New York Report) and correct it. A public opinion survey revealed that 1/3 of the citizens of Michigan believe that blacks and women are not treated as well by the court system as are whites and men. The survey confirmed similar facts on women cited in other state reports that women witnesses report being addressed in more familiar terms than male witnesses.

In the Wisconsin report,[11] the documentation indicates that gender plays an unwanted role in Wisconsin's legal/judicial system. Issues of mentorship and pay differentials plague women attorneys. Despite gender equal law schools during the last ten years, 54% of women are in private

practice compared to 68% of men. After eight years of private practice, 58% of women are partners compared to 65% of men. Women associates earn less than men associates with comparable experiences. Partnership incomes are along equal lines.

In August 1985, the Dane County Legal Association of Women asked the State Bar of Wisconsin to establish a committee to study the participation of women in the Bar. A questionnaire was mailed to a matched randomly selected sample of 800 men and 800 women selected from the 14,321 State Bar members as of April 30, 1986. Results show that women and men are equally active in state bar sections and that women are more likely to be in leadership positions. In addition, equal percentages of women and men respondents participate in State Bar committees. 74% of men respondents and 66% of women respondents are members of their county bar associations. Most revealing is the fact that the average annual income for male respondents was $48,000 compared to $33,000 for women respondents. Women attorneys have an uphill battle to fight. In commenting on the Wisconsin Study, Judge William Eich notes that as a result of this study, "Gender issues are now a regular part of judicial education in Wisconsin".[12]

In California, the Judicial Council adopted eight recommendations proposed by the Special Judicial Council Committee on Gender Bias in the Court System.[13] The recommendations were effective on January 1, 1987. They are:

"1. Improvement of judicial education on gender bias issues.
2. AOC Training and Workshops.
3. Judge's duty to refrain from and prevent conduct exhibiting gender and other bias.
4. Waiting rooms for children.
5. Gender neutral language in local rules and forms.
6. Gender neutral language in statewide rules, standards and forms.
7. Transmittal of reports from other states.
8. Further study of gender bias issues."

"In Circuit Court in Prince George's County, gender bias as an attorney, was in my favor when I represented a male client on a domestic matter."

"One of my earliest cases was representing a male sexual offender. I was treated extremely shabbily. The judge and attorneys (eight males and one female) confronted me in the judge's conference room. They questioned why I, a woman, would defend a male client on a sexual allegation. They indicated that my client was guilty and I, more than anyone, should know it. They resented the fact that a woman would defend a male litigant on a sex offense."

"Prince George's County Circuit Court is ridiculous. The judge is demeaning towards women."

"In District Court, the judge made a mockery of an assault and battery case. Extraneous questions about my client's marital status were posed."

"Prince George's County is terrible for women attorneys. I have had to learn to control myself so that I don't get angry when sexist things are said."

"There is no respect for female attorneys on Prince George's County's Circuit Court. The ruling for my client was harsher, because I'm female."

Litigants indicated:

"My attorney (male) asked me why I was giving my husband a hard time on child support. After all, you have a good job." Her attorney was male. She is a teacher and was asking for no alimony and the minimum child support payment.

"My husband's attorney looked at me and my list of needs for my two daughters and said I shouldn't worry about it, I'd just get married again."

"I interviewed with five attorneys before I found one who was interested in my divorce. She was at least concerned."

"My attorney wanted us to have joint custody, even though my husband is an alcoholic."

"I can't remember much about the divorce. I do remember the attorneys talking about me as though I weren't there. They didn't speak to me. Both attorneys (males) spoke to my husband."

"The lawyers made me feel like I had no control of any decisions in my divorce. They used a formula for child support. They seemed to take what my husband said more seriously."

A Department Store Security Officer indicated that she has seen gender bias in the Upper Marlboro and Hyattsville courthouses. She says:

"Women with children are frequently locked up because the judges feel that these mothers shouldn't have done or performed any illegal acts (because these women have families)."

"Black female shoplifters are jailed while their male accomplists are sent home."

"Women are locked up, no matter what the crime, by a particular Hyattsville judge because he feels that women "should be at home" (the judge has been married and divorced twice)."

"Another Hyattsville judge degrades/embarrasses women in court (interviewee has never heard judge do this to males)."

"Lawyers use terms of endearment with their clients alot."

In reference to the question on perceptions of female judges, the security guard indicated that "Criminals of both genders dislike being tried by female judges for these judges are perceived as being "more stern" and "less compassionate than normal". For example, judges making decisions regarding child support issue an arrest warrant the day immediately after the grace period." The interviewee indicated that she'd met four female judges. She said they all were unmarried or divorced.

"Yes, female attorneys are viewed differently. When people walk into a courtroom and see a female attorney, they automatically say, 'She's gonna lose' and the male lawyers brush her off."

Interviewee mentions a state attorney who is very attractive and soft-spoken. "A male lawyer (opponent) said; We can take care of that (referring to the state attorney), no problem." The state attorney proceeded to win the case.

On women litigants, there's a tendency to "look down on women. They (some males working in the court system and out) have problems with me being a security officer. Shoplifters always want to try me because I'm a woman."

"No. I don't believe trial outcomes are determined by the gender of the lawyer. I've seen too much money passed."

"Yes. Lawyers should only be allowed to say certain things too."

"Justice is not blind without a doubt. Justice is only interested in how much money you've got."

Almost as an after thought, on Monday, it occurred to me that we'd totally missed a pool of people who work with the Court System but weren't included in our categories. Those are the professionals who work with children in the courts, battered women and women in shelters. I spoke with five individuals. The following represents their comments:

"I've witnessed gender bias multiple times, at every level, starting with the District Court Commissioner. When cases come up in Court, assault and battery is dealt with lightly. Judges mock cases, make it embarrassing for women. They ask if they're married with children, questions unrelated to assault and battery."

"I've heard a judge tell an abused and battered client, if it's so terrible, why didn't you leave?"

"Women get much harsher sentences on assault charges. A woman got a life sentence suspended to eight years for an unsuccessful murder attempt whereas a man got one year suspended for killing his Dad."

"One judge from the bench said I'll give you a strong sentence and not reduce it because I want this to serve as a lesson to other women. Despite the client's exemplary behavior, sentence was not reduced."

"Honey, sweetie, dear are used by judges all of the time."

"In Prince George's County, women are treated as children. Judges speak down to them."

"Not all of our women judges are fair. Some of them feel they have something to prove and come down harder on women."

"I've heard gender specific remarks made from the bench. A judge called attention to a female attorney's pregnancy. This distracted from her case... and was an attempt to put her down."

"Women attorneys are interrupted more than male attorneys by judges in Prince George's County."

"In the case of working women, alimony is viewed as a joke, irrespective of the number of children the woman has custody of."

The Prince George's County Women's Political Caucus is respectfully recommending the following:

a. Intensive Sensitivity Training and workshops on gender bias for all new judges, continuing judges and attorneys through the state of Maryland and the counties. We recommend that workshops be designed to deal with specific examples of gender bias towards judges, attorneys, litigants and court personnel. For example, we found a misuse of the state Equal Rights Amendment. Some judges are jokingly asking women why they are asking for alimony when Maryland has ERA. This is twisting ERA to say women have fewer rights. We believe the problems of gender bias to be so extensive in the P.G. County Court System that we recommend the use of consultants from Rhode Island, New Jersey and New York.

b. Gender neutral language on all court forms and documents, if it hasn't been completed.

c. A comprehensive confidential study of female judges and attorneys that insures confidentiality to identify specific perceptions of gender bias. The survey questions listed here could be a starting point. We did find some reticence on the part of some female judges and attorneys to fully share, because of possible repercussions in the court system.

d. A study in courts in each county using trained observers, as was done in Rhode Island, to count the actual incidences of gender bias in the courts is further recommended.

e. A follow-up study in five years, after the Task Force has recommended changes for implementation in Maryland Courts, is recommended to ascertain the status of women. We further recommend that judges who discriminate against women, as a matter of state policy, be removed from the bench. We recognize that this requires monitoring and are willing to work with other women's groups to secure funding to monitor specific courts with trained observers.

Notes

[1]"Balancing the Scales: Gender Bias and Justice in Wisconsin" by Judge William Eich, Wisconsin Bar Bulletin, July 1987, pp. 12-45.

[2]"Gender Bias in American Society: Implications for the Judiciary" by Norma J. Wikler, Ph.D. (paper presented to CCJ/COSCA, August 5, 1986.

[3]"Gender Bias: Push Grows for Study, Action," The National Law Journal, May 19, 1987.

[4]"I Don't Think That Ladies Should Be Lawyers," ABA Journal, December 1, 1986.

[5]"Documenting Gender Bias In the Courts: The Task Force Approach," by Lynn Hecht Schafran, Judicature, February-March 1987.

[6]The 2nd Report of the New Jersey Supreme Court Task Force on Women In the Courts.

[7]"Report of the New York Task Force on Women in the Courts," Fordham Urban Law Journal, Volume XV, 1986-1987, Number 1, pp. 11-198.

[8]"Report of the Committee to Implement Recommendations of the New York Task Force on Women In the Courts," April 1987, by the Unified Court System Office of Court Administration.

[9]"Empirical Study Finds Gender Bias in Rhode Island Courts," The National Law Journal, February 17, 1986.

[10]Citizens' Commission to Improve Michigan Courts: Final Report and Recommendations to Improve the Efficiency and Responsiveness of Michigan Courts, Michigan Supreme Court, Lansing, October 2, 1986.

[11]"Research Survey Report of the State Bar's Special Committee on the Participation of Women in the Bar," by Lois E. Pentmeester and Donna Jones, Wisconsin Bar Bulletin, March 1987, pp. 8-64.

[12]"Balancing the Scales: Gender Bias and Justice in Wisconsin," by Judge William Eich, Wisconsin Bar Bulletin, July 1987, pp. 12-45.

[13]"Judicial Council Adopts Eight Recommendations Made by Committee on Gender Bias in the Court System," News Release, California AOC, December 10, 1986.